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COMMEMORATION SERVICE IN HONOUR OF THE LATE
INKONZO YESIKHUMBUZO KA MRS SYLVIA NONHLANHLA
NURSE NTSHANGASE (UMAMNGADI)

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, 3RD DECEMBER 1988
UMLAZI

Mr. Master of Ceremonies Mr. M.D. Msomi, the Mayor of Umlazi
Mntwana P. Zulu, Reverend Father, Mr. Hamilton Stompie Ntshangase
and all members of his family, Mr. Musa Zondi Chairman of the
Inkatha Youth Brigade, leaders of Inkatha, members of the
community, my brothers and sisters, comrades all.

My brothers and sisters, we are all comrades in the struggle which
has claimed the life of our sister Mrs. Sylvia Nonhlanhla Nurse
Ntshangase. I feel so deeply about her tragic death that I would
ask you all to bow your heads in complete silence for half a minute
before I deliver my message to you. We will now bow our heads.

In this quietness of this short space of time I have again felt
that awesome complexity of life in which martyrs who are the deep
pride of the nation are created by hideous suffering. Great
sportsmen, ! great warriors who conquer, great intellectuals, great
poets and great musicians, may in turn all become the pride of a
nation but when one has paid the ultimate price of dying violently
because of who you are and what you have done to serve the nation,
there is an unparalleled impact not only on the whole generation of
contemporaries, but there is also an impact which is carried
forward by the history of the people.

One of the reasons why this is so is that the martyr's death when
the martyr died from brutal attack is in a sense a personalised
thing for each of us. Each and every one of us can say that could
have been me; it could have been my mother; it could have been my
sister; it could have been my wife. The brutality of Black-on-
Black violence suddenly bursts into our own private world and we
can then do one of two things. We can turn the violence which has
burst into our own life as a weapon which we can use to attack,
attack and attack again. Or we can absorb the violence that has
burst into lives and take it into our very souls so that each of us
nurture the hurt in the pursuit of justice which will put an end to
the kind of hurt we nurse.

There will be no forgetting. Our beloved sister is our martyr. We are proud of her. We are proud of the nation that produced her. We are proud of the ideals she so served that she had to die for them. We are proud that her death could in fact have been any one of our deaths. We are proud of our comrades who are ' our compatriots that produces a history in which there are martyrs. The pain of the martyr in the act of dying is a pain we resurrect in our lives in remembrance and in action.

My brothers and sisters our sister Mrs. Sylvia Nonhlanhla Nurse Ntshangase is not dead and gone. I have a vision of her marching in the forefront of a column of others who have died for our cause. I see next to her the great Mrs. Evelyn Sabelo. I see the faces of those we know whom we have buried. They are marching into history with us and it is to us that they turn to look and to plead that that column in which our martyrs and our dead march be kept as limited as we can humanly keep it.

My brothers and sisters, I have never ever in all my years of

leading you used you and yours as cannon fodder. This adds a very special meaning to those who do die for our cause. We are not careless of life. We do not scatter it around for our enemies to trample upon and for our enemies to spurn. We cherish life. We

struggle for the living. We struggle that they may live better. Our great philosophy of Ubuntu-Botho gives each and every one of us that ultimate sense of being important in the way that God created us to be important when He created man in His own image.

The marching column of our dead headed by our martyrs is a glorious column because each and every one of their deaths was a true sacrifice. It was uncheaped by bravado. It was uncheaped by the stupidity of leaders. It was uncheaped by the search for martyrdom. They were victims all, each and every one of them.

It is not us but it is our enemies who cheapen life. While we struggle to keep our living with us, our enemies want to paint the signs of their own self-claim to glory in the blood of their own comrades and colleagues whom they send on futile and on impossible

missions of violence. It is our enemies who have step by step nurtured the South African Government into becoming militarily more powerful each and every year that has passed. They attack the

South African Government where it is strong and the South African Government then gets stronger where it was already strong.

It is because they can never win in the upward spiralling of violence that they have to posture and strut in bravado and have to sacrifice the lives of their followers just to prove that the war

is hotting up and that the armed struggle is continuing. It is hotting up; the armed struggle is continuing but it is hotting up and continuing ahead of them. They run after the armed struggle

fanning the flames of violence from behind.

They do not want the world to see just how stupid they really are. They do not want the world to see that it was all one long hideous charade of self-glorification and organisational glorification at the expense of ordinary people. That is why they do not want the politics of negotiation to succeed. They want only revolution to succeed. We who are committed to the politics of negotiation and to every possible employment of non-violent means of bringing about the complete eradication of apartheid, are anathema to them.

They must thrust their cannon fodder down our throats just as they thrust it before the South African Government. And then we who only defend ourselves and our right to pursue our non-violent tactics and strategies are so hideously drawn into Black-on-Black confrontations. All the world knows that we are a people of valour and honour and that we walk tall knowing that we are strong and knowing that we only use our strength in the pursuit of noble objectives and that we do so through noble means.

When our enemies thrust the spear of treachery into the backs of our comrades, we must turn to defend. I have again and again been misquoted when I say that our philosophy is an eye for an eye and a

tooth for a tooth. I say this is our philosophy because we are committed to end violence. We undertake no single act of violence which is more than defence. We do not want two eyes for one eye;; we do not want even one eye for nothing. We say simply: We treat

you our enemies with honour and with justice and we expect you to do the same to us. We treat you as we treat ourselves. That we say to our enemies is the true meaning of patriotism. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth philosophy is a philosophy we are committed to because we are adamant that we will not fan the flames of violence. We will not go on vendetta after vendetta. We will not go on attack after attack. We say to our enemies: expect others to do unto you as you do unto them. Join us in peace, we say, and we will leave you in peace. Don't, we say, swear at us because we will swear back. Don't, we say, spit at us because we will spit back.

Our philosophy is an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth precisely because it is in the same idiom as a kindness for a

kindness and an act of comradeship for an act of comradeship. It is in the idiom of do unto others as you would have them do unto you. We only say that we will always reciprocate in kind to all

acts directed at us.

I was very moved when I read the programme for today and read these words:

"We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We shall meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will, and we shall continue to love you. Throw us in jail, and we shall still love you. Send hooded perpetrators of violence into our community at the midnight hour and beat us and leave us half dead, we shall still love you. But be ye assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer... We shall appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory."

These words were words that captured the honour of those black

Americans who were involved in the Civil Rights struggle in the

United States. These words were words put together in a message to the white oppressor. The message that that great son of Africa who emerged in the United States as the offspring of African slaves, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, was delivering was a message a united black people could deliver.

It was the unity of the people that made this message possible. I am deeply proud that our brother and comrade Stompie Ntshangase is here today with this programme in which these words by Martin Luther King, Jr. stand as a tribute to our dear beloved deceased Mrs. Sylvia Nonhlanhla Nurse Ntshangase. It is because she did not go out seeking martyrdom; it is because she did not go out to earn the violence against her; it is because she never sowed the seeds of the kind of whirlwind of violence which claimed her life; it is because she pursued peaceful ways and means of bringing about radical change and it is because she was doing this demonstrating "our capacity to endure suffering" that she is the great Inkatha martyr that she is.

Earlier I made the point in passing that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. could deliver his message of love and compassion to white

Americans because he was speaking on behalf of all Blacks. The unity of the community behind him lifted him higher to reach out further to touch things of great value. He could say to his oppressor "Do to us what you will, and we shall continue to love you... Throw us in jail, and we shall still love you. Send the

hooded perpetrators of violence into our community at the midnight hour and beat us and leave us half dead, we will still love you." And my brothers and sisters because he had black solidarity behind him, he could go on to say: "But be ye assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer... We shall appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory."

My brothers and sisters, let us never begin to fool ourselves that the preservation of morality is not something which only a united black South Africa really can do to the fullest measure. Only the morally blind and the half demented will deny that when one half of a small group acts shamefully the whole group is shamed.

It goes even beyond this. When one member of a family acts shamefully, the name of the whole family is dragged through the mud . God created mankind to live together. We are not self-sufficient animals in the forest. We need each other. We need the solidarity of our fellow human beings around us. They need our solidarity. Anything which breaks the tie between one human being and another human being is tragic. It is an offence which rises up to the very heavens deserving condemnation. There is no escape from the reality that one member of a family can shame the whole family.

My brothers and sisters, there is no escape from the very harsh reality that even a minority in a population can shame the whole population. Are we as a people not torn by internal divisions? Is this broken fabric of our communal life not a shame on us? Is it not a shame that eats away at our capacity to be moral? Is it not a shame that in idiom fits more with the behaviour of a pack of curs snarling and snapping at each other as they fight over one measly bone? Is not the fighting amongst ourselves nothing more than kicking our brother and sister in the face because we want something we don't want them to have?

Is Black-on-Black violent confrontation anything more than a moral 'sickness unto death? We as a people now stand in the very real danger of losing our capacity to be moral as a people. We must do something about the shame of the nation. We cannot tolerate the degradation of the people in the name of the search for justice. We want the moral right to say moral things to our enemies. We want the moral right to demand that our enemies become moral. We cannot do so if we ourselves are also behaving in such a way that the whole nation is shamed.

My brothers and sisters, Black South Africa is not thrashing around in some kind of hell from which there is no escape. Black South Africa is on the march. We have a long struggle behind us and step by step history has moved Black South Africans to the front. The whole sub-continent now relies on us to do the right thing in the right way.

My brothers and sisters, it is because we are so totally assured in our hearts as well as in our minds that apartheid is doomed and that we will triumph over it that we do not have to be extravagant and wild in what we do to oppose apartheid. What those who went before us have done and what we have ourselves been doing, has ensured the demise of apartheid.

We are now watching white brother fight white brother about apartheid. White society is cut through and through with schisms and conflicts about apartheid. There is no will in White South Africa to act as one in the pursuit of apartheid dreams. Apartheid

always depended upon white solidarity behind oppressive laws. That solidarity is crumbling fast and there really is no prospect that there will be reconciliation between white brother and white brother in the pursuit of apartheid ideals.

We know that apartheid is doomed and that white brother will remain locked in conflict with white brother for as long as anybody attempts to keep apartheid intact because that is the way the white man's bread is buttered. We know that apartheid is doomed not only because we have made it totally impractical and impossible to apply but also because economics has worked to reinforce our opposition. There is a total dependence of Whites on Blacks which cuts across the very innermost idiom of apartheid. It destroys apartheid from within. We don't now have to believe in some marvellous change of heart in white society. We can continue to believe that privileged minorities do not give up their privileges freely. The privileges of the white man can only be retained to the extent that they begin sharing them.

The white man's institutions are busy adapting to accommodate change. Let the white man struggle with himself if he must. Let him thrash around some more if he must. He must, however, move with the history that we now lead. We don't have to be afraid of the white man; we don't have to be afraid of apartheid in perpetuity; we don't have to be afraid of injustice. We will conquer and we will, I believe, conquer in such a way that we earn the right to demand morality amongst our enemies.

Our sister Mrs. Sylvia Nonhlanhla Nurse Ntshangase marches in the forefront of a column of martyrs. We are proud of her and my brothers and sisters, my message to you today is that she is proud of us. I wish also to pay tribute to our brother Stompie Ntshangase for the way he has not been daunted in his belief in our cause, by his irreparable loss. We live in times of trouble when the politics of intimidation in the black community are the order of the day. Our people have buried their dead in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area; in Umlazi; in KwaMakhutha in Mpumanlanga; in

the Greater Inanda area; in KwaMashu, and in Lamontville. Some have been maimed and some have lost their property and everything that they possess. But no loss can be compared to the losing of

one's life or the life of one's loved one.

Our brother Stompie Ntshangase, just like our brother Winnington Sabelo, in their loss have given us lessons. When violence is used by those who operate in politics on the basis of it, it is used in order to frighten others who are not yet victims of violence, out of their beliefs and out of their convictions. It says volumes for those of our members who have lost their loved ones such as Comrades Sabela, Ntshangase and their families; Mrs. Mbanjwa in KwaMakhutha and her family, Mr. Philip Thabethe and his family in Pietermaritzburg and several others. I mention these by name only as examples. It is great that these sons and daughters of Africa who have sustained these losses, have become even more committed to Inkatha's ideals. v

It is natural for the lily-livered to be so frightened by such losses as to turn their backs on Inkatha. But not these sons and daughters of Africa. Their continuing commitment to our ideals is a challenge to those of us who have not been at the receiving end of the current violence to the same extent. I admire and feel inspired by the commitment of Central Committee members who, Mr. Chris Hani the Head of the military wing of ANC announced in London only a couple of months ago, are targets of ANC violence - and that of their surrogates within South Africa. I admire the ordinary members of Inkatha who have not been afraid to show our flag, to wear their uniforms, to proclaim their beliefs in spite of the fact that we are targets of this hideous violence.

To add insult to injury, certain elements at some of our Universities and in the media, have done their damndest to present us as members of Inkatha as aggressors in this hideous violence where we have largely been victims, rather than committed perpetrators of violence. The fact that we have not been intimidated, the fact that we have not cowed down, the fact that we have refused to be brow-beaten, has caused all the allies of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance at some of our Universities and in the media, to project us in this violence as veritable villains of the deepest dye. Books are being circulated all over the world to do just that.

I have always appealed to all our members to continue to uphold our belief in non-violent methods of conducting our struggle for liberation. I continue to say that we should not contemplate using violence even against those who have oppressed and dehumanised us. I have continued to refer to Whites, even those who have deprived us of our human rights, as our fellow compatriots and our fellow Christians. I never speak from both sides of my mouth. I am never afraid to say what I believe, whatever the consequences of it may be. Our role in this violence has been defensive. I have encouraged our members to defend their property, their loved ones and their beliefs even with their very lives. On a day like this, when we honour one of our martyrs, we re-dedicate ourselves to our commitment to non-violence but also to defend ourselves and our beliefs from all aggressors whether from the right or the left.

There are many distortions that have been made of my expressing our view that we will demand an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, when we are attacked. I have never said this to implore our members to go out of their way to indulge in acts of violence against their fellow blacks, or other fellow South Africans. We have an inalienable right to defend ourselves not in excess of the violence that is directed at us. We have never tried to intimidate others out of their convictions with violence. We have responded to every effort to bring about peace and reconciliation.

On the 6th of November last year when Church leaders, who included Archbishop Desmond Tutu the patron of the UDF, Archbishop Denis Hurley, President Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church, Revd. Ron

Steele of the Congregational Church and the Head of the Presbyterian Church, asked me and the Secretary-General the Hon. Dr. O.D. Dhlomo, to endorse an appeal to our members to stop

involvement in violence, we did so immediately. We are now involved in the implementation of the Peace Accord with Cosatu in the Pietermaritzburg area. We are seriously committed to this,

" despite the many difficulties that this path is fraught with.

We in Inkatha have morality on our side. We have right on our side. Power is in fact ours because we come from the people and we go where the people want us to go. We are being attacked because we are right and because we are powerful. Let it be an honour to us that we are attacked as we apply our philosophy of an eye for an

eye and a tooth for a tooth. We will not escalate Black-on-Black confrontation.

I turn now finally to our brother, Comrade Stompie Ntshangase and say that we know that on this occasion of unveiling a tombstone to your beloved wife, you are re-living the pain you felt on her tragic death. It is our prayer that God will strengthen you and all your family so that the honour which is bestowed on the nation by your deceased wife is an honour you bear with fortitude for the sake of the nation. Be strong my brother and hold up your family. Our prayers are with you and we know that our deceased sister watches over you as well as yours as we go forward in the struggle.

I wish to end this address with the words of another great American, who contributed probably more than any other President of the United States, in ending slavery in the United States. I refer here to President Abraham Lincoln. He stated:

"We must not, by our action repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we' can:to . our standard.... We shall make converts day by day: we shall grow strong by calmness and moderation; we shall grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we shall be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we shall accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures."

AMANDLA NGAWETHU
U-SYLVIA! NGOWETHU
U-EVELYN! NGOWETHU

ABAFELI! NKATHA NGABETHU

MATLA! ARUNA!

REOEILERE - o T R i o T